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AUTHOR Mortimer, Jeylan T.
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ABSTRACT

The effects of both vertical and nonvertical dimensions of fathers' work on family relations and vocational socialization are explored through a multivariate analysis of data collected from several hundred male student participants enrolled in a Michigan College from 1962-1967. Social class and occupationally-related differences in family characteristics are the subject of the first part of the analysis; differences by occupation, in the impacts of family relationships on the vocational socialization process constitute the second focus of the paper. Findings suggest that there are occupationally-related variations in the character of father-son relations and in the vocational socialization process. The results of the second part of the study support the hypothesis concerning the importance of the father's actual work experience for the socialization process. Closeness to father emerges as an important, structurally-related, intervening variable, mediating the transmission of different occupational reward values, depending on the situs, prestige, and functional focus of his work. In more prestigious occupational origin groups, closeness is associated with nonvertical patterns of intergenerational occupational movement. The analysis suggests that the combination of a prestigious paternal role model and a close father-son relationship engenders the most occupationally-differentiated vocational socialization. (Author/AM)

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SOCIAL CLASS, WORK, AND THE FAMILY: SOMF IMPLICATIONS OF THE FATHER'S OCCUPATION FOR FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND SONS' CAREER DECISIONS*

Jeylan T. Mortimer

University of Minnesota

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Social Class, Work, and the Family:

Some Implications of the Father's Occupation for

Familial Relationships and Sons' Career Decisions

ABSTRACT

The effects of both vertical and non-vertical dimensions of fathers' work on family relations and vocational socialization are explored through a multivariate analysis of data from several hundred male participants in the 1962-1967 Michigan Student Study. Closeness to father emerged as an important, structurally-related intervening variable, mediating the transmission of different occupational reward values, depending on the situs, prestige, and functional focus of his work. In more prestigious occupational origin groups, closeness was associated with non-vertical patterns of intergenerational occupational movement. The analysis suggested that the combination of a prestigious paternal role model and a close father-son relationship engenders the most occupationally-differentiated vocational socialization.

Social Class, Work, and the Family: Some Implications of the Father's Occupation for Familial Relationships and Sons' Career Decisions

Sociologists have long recognized occupation as an important boundary role, connecting the family and the economy (Parsons, 1955a: 13; Parsons and Smelser, 1956: 53-55). Since fathers generally divide the major portions of their time, energies, and interests between their work and their families, it is reasonable to suppose that values and attitudes, as well as behavioral predispositions, would extend from one to the other sphere. The present study, a secondary analysis of survey data obtained from male[1] students at the University of Michigan, is an exploration of differences in family relations and vocational socialization depending on both socio-economic and non-vertical dimensions of the father's work. Major attention is devoted to differences in family relationships and occupational value transmission which might be attributed to the generalizing effects of professional and business occupational subcultures. The implications of differences in father-son relations for sons' career decisions within these two occupational origin groups are also examined.

Research on work and the family has generally focused on the vertical or prestige dimension of the father's occupation as a determinant of the family's income, social status, and the innumerable characteristics which are associated with social class. Significant class-linked variations in the character of family relationships have repeatedly been recognized. Relationships between parents and children have been found to be closer and more communicative in upper-middle and middle class families than at lower class levels (Kohn and Carroll, 1960; Elder, 1962; McKinley, 1964; Rosen, 1964; Rosenberg, 1965). Disciplinary practices are similarly class-differentiated, with greater use of reasoning and more concern with the intent of acts (instead of their consequences) at the higher levels (Sears,

Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Bronfenbrenner, 1958; Kohn, 1959 and 1969: Ch. 6; Rosen, 1964; Gecas and Nye, 1974). In spite of the greater expressed concern with companionship and equality in upper socio-economic groups, which may be reflected in more open and satisfying communication and problem solving styles (Scanzoni, 1970; Tallman and Miller, 1974), research on family decision-making has generally found that the father's authority increases with the socio-economic status of his occupation (Strodtbeck, 1958; Gold and Slater, 1958; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Scanzoni, 1970). Several studies have also reported a more active family involvement on the part of fathers at higher social class levels (Wilmott, 1971), particularly in the raising of their male children (Kohn and Carroll, 1960; Rosen, 1964; Rosenberg, 1965; Kohn, 1969: Ch. 7).

The reasons for these class-related differences are probably multiple and complex. Researchers studying the associations between social class and family variables generally use single measures of socio-economic status, such as the husband's occupational prestige (e.g., Duncan's Socio-economic Index, 1961), or they combine indicators, such as occupational prestige, education, or income, to create indices of social position. These practices are reasonable if one assumes that each of the socio-economic variables represents a single underlying dimension which has a uniform impact on the characteristics of the family under consideration. It is possible, however, that they may have impacts of <u>different</u> kind and magnitude on the dependent variables of interest, and particularly upon those relating to the socialization process. Otto (1975), in a recent article, has encouraged family researchers to be more sensitive to such differences.

One purpose of the analysis was therefore to explore variations in the impacts of three socio-economic indicators on family relations variables: occupational prestige, education, and income. High occupational prestige could engender great admiration for the father in the eyes of his family,

a desire by children to emulate him, and consequently, smooth and satisfying family relations (Buehler, et al., 1974). It has been suggested that education increases interpersonal empathy (Elder, 1962), sensitizing parents to the importance of their children's emotional and cognitive development (Kohn, 1969: 132, 141) and to the dangers of repressiveness and overly strict control. Some investigators (Richer, 1968; Smith, 1970) point to the purchasing power provided by income as an important explanatory variable, increasing parents' power to reward children and thus influence their behavior.

If strictly socio-economic dimensions and resources were the only important determinants of class-related differences in parental behavior, it is reasonable to suppose that both parents would be similarly affected by them, since they may reasonably be considered as occupying the same social class position,[2] have a common income, and similar educational backgrounds. The character of mothers' socialization practices, however, such as their supportiveness and severity, has generally been found to be less class-differentiated than that of fathers (Rosen, 1964; McKinley, 1964; Bowerman and Elder, 1964; Rosenberg, 1965. For conflicting evidence, see Kohn, 1969: 103). It is possible that the socio-economic indicators often reflect dimensions of the father's work experience, such as his success and autonomy, that are not as much a part of mothers' lives. Given the usual separation of work from the household, one might expect that mothers would be less affected by the father's job than would the father himself. Though there is much variation in this regard, mothers generally do not have daily and direct contact with fathers' occupational experiences and work associates.[3]

To more fully explain class-related differences in fathers' attitudes and behaviors, it may therefore be useful to examine their occupational experiences directly, as sources of variation in the family and the socialization process. Although there have been occasional allusions to isomorphism--similarity in values, norms, and interactional styles--between work and family

sectors (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1965; Aldous, 1969),[4] the possibility that specific non-vertical dimensions of work influence family structure and recurrent patterns of interaction has received relatively little attention, in comparison to the vast amount of research on socio-economic status as a factor in family-occupational linkages. Several studies, however, have indicated that such dimensions as the entrepreneurial vs. bureaucratic character of the father's occupation, its degree of autonomy, and its functional focus have important implications for the family and children (Aberle and Naegele, 1952; Miller and Swanson, 1958; Gold and Slater, 1958; Johnson, et al., 1961; McKinley, 1964; Turner, 1970; Steinmetz, 1972; Mortimer, 1973, 1974, and 1975). The strongest evidence to date for the existence of value parallels between work and family sectors derives from Melvin Kohn's (1969) research on the impacts of occupational autonomy on parental values. A multivariate analysis of survey data obtained from 1500 employed men showed that differences in self-direction at work largely account for class variations in fathers' values concerning the importance of self-direction and qualities relating to the inner psychic development of children, as opposed to obedience or conformity to external standards of behavior (1969: 162). Kohn's interpretation of this finding places major emphasis upon the generalizing effects of work experience: those traits which are important for the father's own occupational success come to influence his values concerning the most desirable qualities for his children.

Similarly, a guiding hypothesis of the present study was that differences in business and professional subcultures and work activities have important implications for the family and the socialization process. To delineate the professional occupation as an ideal type, sociologists have placed major emphasis upon the relation of professional work to the attainment of crucial societal values, and its dependence on an esoteric body of knowledge (Greenwood, 1957; Goode, 1969). Professional occupations are oriented to the attainment

of values (such as health, justice, and education), achieved through the application of systematic principles (embodied in scientific knowledge, legal and religious codes, etc.).[5] In contrast, in the business world, the goal is to maximize profits. While Parsons (1939) notes that these two categories of modern occupations are similar in many respects, for him the crucial distinguishing characteristic is the normative definition of occupational activity as involving a service orientation--instead of one emphasizing profits--toward the public, individual clients, or customers. There may also be a more pragmatic and even intuitive orientation in business activities (see Dalton, 1959), in contrast to the professional's preoccupation with the application of systematic knowledge.[6]

Different occupational subcultures, including values concerning work activities and rewards, are clearly implied by this distinction. Intrinsic work orientations concerning service, autonomy, and expertise are expressed and supported by the professional's training, ideology, and occupational community (Goode, 1957). For businessmen, similar institutional supports for intrinsic work values are lacking. There is evidence that businessmen do, in fact, give more extrinsically-oriented responses when asked to evaluate the importance of various occupational rewards, emphasizing high income and advancement, while professionals are more likely to be concerned with the intrinsic satisfactions of work (Gurin, et al., 1960; Kilpatrick, et al., 1964; Robinson, et al., 1969: Ch. 3).

If there are significant parallels between the attitudes and behavior associated with work and family, one might expect to find variations in family relations and the socialization process among men in white collar occupations, depending on their business or professional status. It would follow from Kohn's emphasis on occupational self-direction as a crucial factor influencing parental values (Kohn, 1969: 35), that professionals would be especially concerned with the development of the internal resources

in their children necessary for the exercise of self-reliance and autonomy. Business work, while often as complex and as intrinsically satisfying as that of professionals, more typically emphasizes extrinsic rewards and involves external standards of achievement, the attainment of which is less clearly dependent on knowledge possessed by members of a distinct occupational community (Lieberson and O'Connor, 1972: 119).

If these considerations are justified, one might expect that professionals would be more involved with the socialization of their male children. For them, socialization could be a more problematic process (Kohn, 1969: 120-124). Kohn has reported that "...the higher fathers' valuation of self-direction, the more supportive of their sons and daughters they claim to be" (1969: 115). Professional ideologies and work activities place a premium on autonomous decision-making (Freidson, 1973). It was therefore hypothesized that professionals' sons would feel closer and more communicative with their fathers, and that professionals would be perceived as more involved in family decision-making.

Within the business sector, it was expected that the predominant type of work function would affect the character of parent-son relations. The second hypothesis was that work with people would engender greater interpersonal sensitivity and communication skills which extend to relations with one's own family. In contrast, daily work focused on data or things would be related to a lesser degree of involvement with the family and children. Kohn concluded that the complexity of work function is the key differentiator of parental evaluations of self-direction and conformity, and that the nature and extent of work with people has little independent effect on these values (1969: 157; 176-178). Whereas this conclusion pertains to parental values, an attempt was made to ascertain whether recurrent interactions at work would engender a greater interpersonal facility that would affect family relationships.

Social class and occupationally-related differences in family characteristics are therefore the subject of the first part of the analysis; differences, by occupation, in the impacts of family relationships on the vocational socialization process constitute the second focus of the paper. Among the Michigan students, occupational preferences paralleled fathers' autonomy in work as well as their distinctive occupational functions and rewards (Mortimer, 1974). Several other investigators have also reported non-vertical dimensions of intergenerational occupational mobility in the United States (Blau and Duncan, 1967: 73; Werts, 1968; Horan, 1972) as well as in other industrialized (Carlsson, 1958) and developing (Horan, 1974) countries. If there is a tendency for sons to inherit their father's occupations, or to choose occupations like those of their fathers, it is important to understand the intervening variables, mediating these patterns of intergenerational occupational mobility. The variation in business and professional subcultures would lead one to expect different patterns of occupational value transmission in the two groups. In accord with this expectation, previous analysis of the data (Mortimer, 1975) indicated that close and communicative family relations mediate the transmission of intrinsic occupational reward values in the professional origin group, and extrinsic reward values in the business origin category. Furthermore, within the business group, when the father worked with people the pattern of value transmission was more like that of professionals than when he worked with data or things. The associations and interactions among occupational origin, socio-economic status, and sons' reward values are more fully explored here. Whereas opportunity factors certainly influence occupational inheritance, it was hypothesized that the more effective occupational value transmission found in closer families would engender a desire on the part of the son to obtain the same rewards and satisfactions as the father in his work. A final concern of the research was therefore to explore the implications of the father-son relationship for the son's career decision.

METHOD

Data Source

In 1962 and 1963 questionnaires were administered during orientation week to freshmen entering the University of Michigan's College of Liberal Arts. Information concerning relationships with parents and social background characteristics was gathered at this time. The analyses of the associations between family and occupational characteristics are based on more than 1200 male students of white collar backgrounds included in the freshman sample.[7] Later in the freshman year, a longitudinal panel of 650 of these students was chosen for further study during the four years in college. Four hundred and fifty men, assigned to the same dormitories on the basis of standard university housing procedures, constituted the bulk of this freshman panel.[8] Since occupational choices are much more serious and realistic in the senior year than at college entry, only the students from whom both entry and senior data were obtained are included in analyses of the effects of family relations on sons' occupational value orientations and career decisions. Whereas the relatively high socio-economic origins of these college students would likely attenuate the relat.. ships between family and socio-economic variables,[9] it was expected th uatic occupational differences in family relations and in the sociali process within the middle class should be apparent, if they do exist, in this sample.

Occupational Classification

Doctors, dentists, lawyers, scientists (biological and physical), teachers, and college professors were classified as professionals (N=289), since these six occupations (with the possible exception of teachers) were believed to conform rather closely to the professional ideal-type model. They generally involve high levels of complexity, place a premium on autonomy, and emphasize

service-oriented activities and values, either in a direct interpersonal relationship (as in medicine, law or teaching), or more abstractly, as in much scientific work. Business occupations (N=853) were defined by white collar[10] work in the business situs or setting, since this institutional locus was expected to influence the paternal values affecting family relations and vocational socialization. Men in several occupations that are often designated professional or semi-professional (excluding the six professions above), such as certified public accountant or engineer, were therefore considered "businessmen" if they worked in profit-making enterprises. The distinction between people-oriented and technical (data or thing-oriented) occupational activities in the business situs was made on the basis of Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965) "interest" ratings. Men who worked with people (N=657), e.g., as managers, salesmen or personnel workers, were separated from those working mainly with data or things (N=226) as in occupations like accounting, engineering, or clerical work. (For more details concerning this procedure, cf. Mortimer, 1974.) Business occupations were likewise separated on the basis of self-employment. The detailed occupational code, which also distinguished government employees and artists, is given in Table 1.

Family Relations Measures

Warmth and communication between parents and children have been found to be crucial variables mediating identification with parents and the transference of values (Mussen, 1961; Walters and Stinnett, 1971: 100-102, 107). These dimensions of parent-son relations were therefore of central interest. The measures are based on the freshmen's reported perceptions (though the questions were also asked in the senior year), given separately for each parent. The measure of warmth or "closeness" is a summation of two related

items (r=.55 for fathers and .54 for mothers) reflecting the respondent's feelings of closeness to each of his parents, and the extent to which he thinks they understand him and what he wants out of life. Single items indicating the respondent's tendency to discuss his problems with his mother and father were used as measures of parent-son communication. For both measures, high scores suggest more positive relationships. The fact that the closeness and communication measures assess rather enduring relationships, and not merely ephemeral feelings at the time of the survey, is suggested by the positive correlations (ranging from .49 to .55) obtained for each of the four variables at the time of college entry and four years later, when the students were seniors.[11]

The father's influence over children would likely be heightened if he were actively involved in family decision-making. The power to administer rewards as well as punishments is often considered a necessary condition for high parental identification and socialization effectiveness (Parsons, 1955b; Maccoby, 1959; Straus, 1964). Three items assessed the relative decision-making power of each parent in three domains: authority over the children, family finances, and disciplinary matters. Low scores indicate father dominance; intermediate choices, a more egalitarian decision-making structure; and high scores, mother dominance.[12]

DATA ANALYSIS

Occupational and Socio-economic Variations in Family Relations

Although the numbers in some occupational origin categories are small, it is of initial interest to observe the variations, by occupation, in closeness to parents (see Table 1). The sons of men in the professions of dentistry, medicine, science, and law report the closest relationships with their fathers

(Col. 1). Work in each of these professional occupations involves the high level of complexity and autonomy which Kohn considers so essential in

----------Insert Table One about here.----------

fostering a sense of concern with the child's internal cognitive and emotional development. Teachers' sons' scores are also above the total sample mean. Though not as complex and autonomous as the other professions, one might expect teaching to engender positive relationships with children. This occupation also attracts persons seeking people-oriented vocational rewards--satisfactions deriving from interpersonal relations and helping others (Davis, 1965). Of the six professional origin groups, only college professors' sons, rather inexplicably, fall below the mean. Three of the four business origin groups are also below the total sample mean on the closeness measure. The predicted differences between people and data, thing-oriented workers did not, however, occur. In fact, the self-employed, more technically-oriented business fathers were perceived in highly favorable terms by their sons.[13] Whereas doctors' and dentists' sons reported the greatest amount of communication with their fathers, no major differences among the other origin groups were apparent. (Analyses for this variable, which also was unrelated to the other predictors, are therefore not shown.) The findings generally suggest rather positive relationships between professionals and their sons, and are certainly not consistent with the popular notion that the most intrinsically satisfying and demanding occupations engender paternal withdrawal and isolation from the family (Benson, 1968: 274; Aldous, 1969: 708-709).

It is interesting to compare the pattern of scores given for fathers and mothers. Much in accord with previous findings (Bowerman and Elder, 1964; Kohn, 1969: 112), the mothers' scores (Col. 2) tend to be higher than those for fathers (excepting only the doctors and scientists), indicating closer relations. While there is rather little variation in closeness to mothers by the husband's occupation, the scores are positively correlated (r=.64) for

the two parents, and therefore the rankings are somewhat similar. While it is possible that the proximity of the two measures in the questionnaire led to a lack of differentiation of feelings toward each parent, there is good reason to believe that this association is not a mere methodological artifact. A father's supportive relationship with his children could foster his wife's appreciation, and create a high level of family integration. The positive association is also consistent with the hypothesis (cf. Kohn, 1969: 151) that the father's occupational values are communicated to mothers and come to influence their own family-related attitudes and behaviors. Choice of marriage partners on the basis of compatible family orientations is another possible interpretation of the result.

Of the three authority structure measures, only the item concerning family finances showed a significant association with the father's occupation (see Col. 3). Since lower scores indicate greater paternal authority, it is evident that the professionals were seen generally as more prominent decisionmakers than the businessmen. Clearly, all groups viewed their fathers as more important than mothers in this domain. The fact that among professionals the teachers rank the lowest suggests the relevance of income in explaining the occupational differences. Sons of businessmen (again excepting those in the self-employed technical category), government employees, and artists tended to assign greater authority to their mothers than the other groups.

To examine the independent effects of the occupational and socio-economic variables on the family relations measures, a series of regression analyses were performed. The independent variables in the models presented in the upper portion of Table 2 were the dummy variable expressing the professional-business dichotomy (coded 1, if professional), the father's occupational prestige (Siegel, 1971: Ch. 2), family income, and the father's and mother's education. The dependent variables were the family relations measures of closeness and authority.

----------Insert Table Two about here.----------

Of the five predictors, income was most strongly and positively related to the son's feeling of closeness to his father (Col. 1). Though the professional-business dummy variable also had a positive effect on this measure, this association just failed to reach the .05 level of statistical significance. Rather surprisingly, occupational prestige and parental education had no significant independent impacts. In agreement with previous studies of socio-economic differences in child-rearing, the effects of all the socio-economic variables are weaker and have no significant relation to the son's feeling of closeness to mother (Col. 2). Since there was no evidence that work with people rather than data or things influenced the family variables under consideration, the results for those analyses are not given.

The further importance of income for the father's position of authority in the family is demonstrated in Columns 3 and 4. Income had a highly significant effect on the son's perception of the father's role in financial decisions even when education, occupational situs, and prestige were controlled (Col. 3). These results suggest that differences in family income and the father's educational level entirely account for the occupational differences on this variable (shown in Table 1). It is pertinent to note that both mothers and fathers acquire greater power in this domain when they have more education. The findings concerning "authority over the children" (Col. 4) indicate that the power associated with higher income is not limited to purchasing decisions. While the other four predictors have no significant independent effects, family income is associated with greater paternal authority over children. (The third authority measure, concerning more specific disciplinary matters, showed no significant relation to any of the predictors.) The initial hypothesis that professional fathers have the greater involvement in family decision -making, independent of socio-economic differences, was therefore not supported.

The Vocational Socialization Process

In the second part of the study, the findings indicated clear differences in the vocational socialization process in business and professional families. The freshman family relations variables had different impacts on sons' senior occupational reward values and career decisions, depending on the characteristics of the father's occupation. Table 3 presents partial correlations of the closeness variables with sons' people and extrinsic reward orientations,[14] controlling family income, the father's occupational prestige, and the father's and mother's education.[15] In the professional category, the measure of closeness to father is unrelated to sons' extrinsic

----------Insert Table Three about here.----------

reward values (-.05, n.s.), but positively associated with their concern with the more intrinsic, people-oriented occupational rewards (.216, $p < .05$). The opposite pattern is found in the business origin category (not shown)--closeness to the father is unrelated to sons' people orientation score (.079, n.s.), but positively related to their concern with the extrinsic rewards of income, social prestige, advancement, and security (.192, $p < .001$). Whereas it is possible that seniors come to feel closer to their fathers as a consequence of having independently developed similar occupational values, this direction of causality is ruled out in the analysis. Since they were measured four years earlier, the freshman family variables clearly represent parent-son relationships at a prior point in time.

This difference in the pattern of association between closeness to the father and sons' occupational values appears to be occupationally related, and not just a function of differences in socio-economic status. If the variation in pattern were determined by social class differences, that is, if closeness to the father in lower status occupational groups tends to be related to a pattern of extrinsic reward value transmission, one would expect that the association between closeness and sons' extrinsic orientation would

decrease in the higher prestige business group. Instead, the difference is accentuated when the professionals and the higher prestige businessmen are compared (-.05 vs. .276).[16] The partial correlations in the business origin group thus increase with the father's occupational prestige. The same pattern occurs for mothers. Again suggesting the lack of importance of prestige in engendering the business-professional differences, the association between closeness and sons' people orientation in the higher status business origin group shows virtually no increase and is almost identical to that in the lower prestige category. (Rather interestingly, however, closeness to the mother is more positively related to people orientation in the higher prestige business families than in the lower prestige group--a pattern more like that in professional families.)

In Table 4 the business groups are further differentiated on the basis of work function. The stronger association of closeness to father and sons' extrinsic reward orientation in the higher prestige category is apparent in

----------Insert Table Four about here.----------

both functional focus groups. In the higher prestige group, however, closeness to the father is also significantly related to the son's concern with the people-oriented reward values, but only when the father himself works with people. Only here does the effect of closeness to the father on sons intrinsic reward values even approach that found in the professional origin category. (Closeness to mother again shows a somewhat different relation to sons' values.)

In the analyses of sons' career choices, scores above and below the median on the freshman measure of closeness to father were used to indicate the quality of the father-son relationship. Table 5 gives distributions of

----------Insert Table Five about here.----------

senior career choices for the closer and more distant groups in selected occupational origin categories. It should first be noted that there is no apparent independent effect of closeness on seniors' career decisions.

Differences between the father-son relationship categories occur only when the father's occupational prestige is high. In the lower prestige business origin group there is little difference in the career choice distributions of closer and more distant groups (5A). In contrast, in the higher status business origin group, 40 percent of "close" sons chose to enter business, whereas only 21 percent of those in the other category did so (5B). There is also a slightly greater tendency of students with the more positive paternal relationships to choose law, an occupation often closely connected with business functions and concerns. These higher status businessmen's sons' avoidance of academia is quite noteworthy --this occupation represents a marked contrast to the occupational interests, values, and goals of their fathers. These trends were found to occur among students of higher prestige business origin irrespective of the father's functional focus of work--upon people versus data or things.

The relative absence of career choice variation by the character of the father-son relationship in the lower status business category suggests that when the father is not in a high status occupation close sons look elsewhere, outside business, to find their future life's work. (Occupational inheritance was even slightly greater in the more distant group.) While the upward mobility of these sons would largely preclude choice of the identical occupation as their fathers, there would be considerable mobility opportunity for them in other areas of business. The father's prestigious occupation alone, however, is not enough to motivate occupational inheritance if the relationship between the father and son is not conducive to strong parental identification and value transference.

While the professions are the most prestigious occupational groups, the professionals' sons who feel close to their fathers have a pattern of career preferences which is quite unlike that of the more prestigious businessmen's sons (5C). These students show a marked propensity toward medicine in both

their freshman and their senior years--among seniors, almost half aspire to be doctors. Using a more stringent definition of closeness to distinguish the highest third of the professional origin group, 57 percent choose medicine, as opposed to 37 percent of the remaining two-thirds of professionals' sons. This pattern probably has multiple determinants. It may be that the rigorous and challenging nature of pre-medical preparation requires a high level of parental support to bolster the self-confidence and motivation necessary for high academic achievement (see Rosenberg, 1965). It must also be recognized, however, that the occupation of medicine is the prototype of the professional occupation, exemplifying autonomy, work with people, service to others, and intrinsic (as well as extrinsic) rewards. These sons' strong medical preference is therefore highly consistent with the earlier finding that professional work values are transferred through close interpersonal relationships. If opportunity factors were the only variables operating, one might expect the closer and more distant professionals' sons to have more equal propensities to medicine; furthermore, if socio-economic considerations were only at issue, the higher status businessmen's sons should show a greater preference for medicine than those whose fathers have less prestigious and remunerative occupations.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The findings presented in this paper suggest that there are occupationally-related variations in the character of father-son relations and in the vocational socialization process. The sons of doctors, dentists, scientists, and lawyers assigned their fathers the highest scores on the closeness measure. The data also provided some indication that professionals as a group are closer to their sons than businessmen, though this effect just failed to reach statistical significance when socio-economic differences were controlled. The pattern of findings is consistent with Kohn's emphasis on the importance of self-direction in work as a source of paternal values. The functional

focus of the father's work, however, had no discernible impacts on parent-child relations. The latter result also indirectly supports Kohn's contention that the complexity and autonomy-related demands of work, not its functional focus, affect the child-rearing values influencing fathers' relationships with children.

When the other background variables were controlled, family income was significantly related to the closeness of the father-son relationship and to two measures of the father's authority in family decision-making. Higher income fathers were perceived as closer to their sons and as more powerful figures in their families. The findings therefore suggest that the father's occupation exerts its impact on family relationships largely through the income derived from it. This pattern of results is somewhat unexpected in view of the relative lack of importance of income in comparison to other socio-economic indices in previous studies of marital relations (Scanzoni, 1970: 34-35) and parental values (Kohn, 1969: 133-135). While it is generally assumed that very low or unstable income interferes with the father's fulfillment of his provider role and reduces his authority in the family, there is little reason to expect that income would exert an appreciable effect on family relations within the reasonably comfortable income range in this white collar sample.

It perhaps should be remembered, however, that income is a highly salient symbol of success in the occupational world. It may have even greater significance as a measure of personal worth in higher prestige occupational groups where career structures or business opportunities permit substantial increases in salaries or profits as a result of achievement and productivity. If higher income fathers are seen as more knowledgeable and capable by their sons than fathers who are less successful in their careers, they could be more attractive role models. Furthermore, the ability to reward children and to affect their status placement in adult life may be a significant factor

influencing the likelihood of sons' identification with their fathers (Winch, 1962). This ability would likely be greater in upper income groups. While these interpretations of the results are reasonable, they are nevertheless highly speculative. Additional research, providing a replication of the findings and a full exploration of the implications of income for family relations at middle and high socio-economic levels, is needed before a fully satisfactory explanation can be provided.

The results of the second part of the study supported the hypotheses concerning the importance of the father's actual work experience for the socialization process. Closeness to the father mediated the transmission of different occupational values, depending on the character of his occupation. Thus, the freshman measure of closeness to the father was positively related to businessmen's sons' extrinsic reward value orientation; in the professional category, it was positively related to the more intrinsic, person-oriented reward values. The pattern of occupational value transmission was further affected by the prestige and functional focus of the father's work. The fact that the association between closeness to father and sons' extrinsic reward value orientation did not diminish in the higher status business origin group, and in fact, even accentuated the original business-professional difference, provides additional evidence that more specifically occupational factors, and not just socio-economic differences, determine the vocational values which are transmitted from father to son. In the business situs, income and other extrinsic rewards may have even greater salience at the higher prestige levels. Furthermore, in the higher status business origin group, when the father worked with people, the closeness measure was more strongly related to sons' person-oriented values than when he worked with data or things. These findings suggest that fathers at higher occupational prestige levels may have internalized the values associated with their occupations more strongly, and that they are more successful in transmitting

these values to sons.

This interesting pattern of interaction between prestige and the father's occupation in affecting vocational value socialization was also indicated by the data on sons' career decisions. The measure of closeness to the father only differentiated the occupational choices of students in the higher status business or professional occupational origin groups. Almost half the professionals' sons who felt close to their fathers aspired to medicine. In contrast, in the higher status business origin group, close sons preferred occupations in business, and avoided dissimilar work, as in academia. These findings suggest that the combination of a prestigious paternal role model and a close father-son relationship engenders the most effective transmission of vocational values and the clearest impacts on sons' occupational decisions.

Several authors have noted an absence of research on factors influencing paternal attitudes and behaviors, and the impacts of fathers upon children of both sexes (Benson, 1968: Ch.1; Walters and Stinnett, 1971; Lipman-Blumen, 1975). This research gap becomes the more problematic as couples increasingly share both parental and occupational roles, and fathers become more involved in the socialization of their children. In spite of the greater concern with the behaviors and attitudes of mothers in socialization, the extent to which men are so involved may be of considerable importance for child development (Hoffman, 1961). There is evidence that differences in styles of paternal involvement in their families are causally linked to children's self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965; Buehler, et al., 1974), the extent of identification with parents (Bowerman and Bahr, 1973) and rebellion against them (Biller, 1971: Ch. 4), and the children's subsequent educational achievements (Elder, 1963) and occupational aspirations (Rosenberg, 1965: Ch. 12). The findings presented here provide further evidence concerning the significant correlates of father-son relations. They suggest that closeness to the father is an important structurally-related intervening variable, mediating the

transference of vocational reward values to sons and generating, in more prestigious occupational groups, non-vertical patterns of inter-generational occupational movement.

TABLE 1

Father's Occupation and Son's Assessments of Family Relations

Father's Occupation	Closeness to Parents: 1 Father Mean Score	Rank	N*	2 Mother Mean Score	Rank	N*	Control of Family Finances: 3 Mean Score	Rank	N**
Professional									
Dentist	6.42	1	26	6.73	1	26	1.67	1	15
Doctor	6.35	2	83	6.18	2	85	2.22	5	37
Scientist	5.96	3	25	5.76	10	25	1.94	3	17
Lawyer	5.88	4	77	6.12	3.5	81	1.83	2	36
Teacher	5.80	6	41	6.12	3.5	41	2.94	11	16
College Professor	5.51	10	37	5.67	12	36	2.27	6	26
Business									
self-employed people	5.66	7	379	5.97	5	383	2.32	7	187
data or things	5.83	5	47	5.90	7.5	48	2.13	4	23
not self-employed people	5.51	10	278	5.90	7.5	284	2.55	9	153
data or things	5.56	8	179	5.87	9	182	2.46	8	102
Government Employees	5.51	10	49	5.68	11	54	2.61	10	23
Artists	5.17	12	12	5.94	6	16	3.33	12	12
TOTAL	5.69		1233	5.96		1261	2.37		647
Range	2-8			2-8			1-6		
F	2.89			1.38			3.87		
P	.001			.180			.001		

*N's in columns 1 and 2 differ when students did not answer both questions.

**Includes only the 1963 freshman cohort.

TABLE 2

Beta Coefficients for Occupational and SES Variables Predicting Family Relations Characteristics

	CLOSENESS TO PARENTS				AUTHORITY STRUCTURE			
	Father 1		Mother 2		Control of Family Financies 3		Authority over Children 4	
Predictors	Beta	F	Beta	F	Beta	F	Beta	F
Father's Occupation, Professional-Business	.081	3.68	.055	1.65	-.006	.01	-.079	1.94
Father's Occupational Prestige	.000	.00	-.020	.15	-.032	.23	.027	.17
Family Income	.129	*** 10.19	.073	3.14	-.206	*** 16.55	-.135	** 6.65
Father's Education	.044	.39	.000	.00	-.145	* 6.46	.001	.00
Mother's Education	-.057	2.59	-.015	.18	.133	** 8.16	.062	1.69

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

TABLE 3

Partial Correlations of Freshman Family Relations and Sons' Senior Occupational Values, Controlling Four SES Variables[a] in Professional and Business Origin Groups

Family Variables	Occupational Values: Extrinsic Orientation			People Orientation		
	Professionals	Business Prestige		Professionals	Business Prestige	
		low	high		low	high
Closeness to Father	-.050	.15*	.276***	.216*	.063	.102
Closeness to Mother	.066	.089	.301***	.323**	.038	.209**
degrees of freedom	82	177	123	82	177	123

[a]Father's occupational prestige, family income, father's and mother's education.

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

TABLE 4

Partial Correlations of Freshman Family Relations and Sons' Senior Occupational Values, Controlling Four SES Variables[a] in Business Functional and Prestige Groups

EXTRINSIC ORIENTATION

Family Variables	Father's Work Function: People Prestige LOW	People Prestige HIGH	Data, Things Prestige LOW	Data, Things Prestige HIGH
Closeness to Father	.126	.266**	.178	.289*
Closeness to Mother	-.023	.323**	.379**	.322*

PEOPLE ORIENTATION

	Father's Work Function: People Prestige LOW	People Prestige HIGH	Data, Things Prestige LOW	Data, Things Prestige HIGH
Closeness to Father	.065	.189*	.028	.067
Closeness to Mother	.065	.195*	-.153	.267
degrees of freedom	131	84	37	32

[a]Father's occupational prestige, family income, father's and mother's education.

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$
*** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 5

Percent Distributions of Senior Career Choices
by Closeness to Father in Business and Professional Origin Groups

SENIOR CAREER CHOICE*

	Doctor	Dentist	Scientist	Teacher	College Professor	Government	Lawyer	Business	TOTAL %	N
A. Lower Prestige Business Origin										
close	16.9	4.8	9.6	8.4	19.3	4.8	12.0	24.1	48.8	83
not close	14.9	1.1	3.4	6.9	20.7	10.3	12.6	29.9	51.2	87
TOTAL	15.9	2.9	6.5	7.6	20.0	7.6	12.4	27.1	100.0	170
B. Higher Prestige Business Origin										
close	17.8	4.1	4.1	5.5	4.1	4.1	20.5	39.7	56.6	73
not close	17.9	7.1	3.6	5.4	21.4	7.1	16.1	21.4	43.4	56
TOTAL	17.8	5.4	3.9	5.4	11.6	5.4	18.6	31.8	100.0	129
C. Professional Origin										
close	48.4	3.1	1.6	4.7	20.3	1.6	7.8	12.5	71.1	64
not close	30.8	7.7	11.5	3.8	19.2	0	11.5	15.4	28.9	26
TOTAL	43.3	4.4	4.4	4.4	20.0	1.1	8.9	13.3	100.0	90

* Students making other, less popular choices are deleted from the tables.

FOOTNOTES

1. Tangri (1972) reports the findings of a study of familial and other influences on the career decisions of female participants in the Michigan Student Study.
2. Acker (1973), however, questions this assumption, arguing that there are status differences within the family, depending on the wife's own occupational and other characteristics.
3. Women who work with their husbands in family businesses and those whose husbands work at home would have more direct exposure. For a discussion of wives' involvement in their husbands' work, see Gold and Slater, 1958; and Papanek, 1973.
4. The hypothesis that such isomorphism exists is contrary to the conception of personality as consisting of multifaceted and rather independent sets of responses to discrete role demands (see Brim, 1970: 160-161).
5. For conflicting views, emphasizing the self-aggrandizing and monopolistic features of professions, see Freidson, 1970; and Roth, 1974.
6. Though "professional judgment" may be highly intuitive in actual practice, there is greater concern among professionals that available theoretical knowledge be systematically applied.
7. Approximately 75% of freshmen in the two cohorts were chosen, mostly on a random basis. (Other questionnaires were not coded.) The complete enumeration (95%) was performed so that basic information would be available for all students subsequently chosen for special studies. No differences in the father's occupation and prestige were found between this subset of students and the entire sample (N=1981). (For more information concerning the study design, see Gurin, 1971.) Furthermore, in the analyses presented here, students of blue collar background and those in the residual occupational background category were excluded.

8. These students were chosen because the project directors were interested in studying friendship patterns. The remainder consisted of 150 freshmen, chosen randomly, and 50 students selected on the basis of entrance data to insure representation of persons with diverse attitudes and interests. Four years later, 150 additional seniors were chosen randomly to compensate for freshman attrition.

9. For example, 32% of the fathers had post-graduate education; an additional 26% graduated from college. The corresponding percentages for mothers are 9% and 38%.

10. Though blue collar workers also work in profit-making enterprises, the term, businessman, is usually reserved for the self-employed and employees at managerial levels. In this study, clerical and sales workers are also included.

11. The validity of these measures is indicated by their significant associations with measures of competence and self-esteem, even when the father's occupational prestige, parental education, and income are controlled (cf. Rosenberg, 1965 for the rationale behind this validation procedure.) For example, the partial correlation of students' self-esteem (on a seven-point sematic differential scale, coded 1 if high) with the measures of closeness and communication with the father were -.20 and -.16, respectively (for both, $p < .001$). These measures were also significantly related to sons' feelings of masculinity, and other positive assessments. Measures of relationship with mothers tended to be similarly, though more weakly, related to these variables.

12. Because questions concerning authority patterns were only included in the 1963 cohort questionnaire, N's are smaller in analyses based on these items. The questionnaire items and scoring may be obtained from the author upon request.

13. As the self-employed had higher closeness scores than the other businessmen, self-employment seemed initially to differentiate father-son relations. Since the self-employed fathers also had the higher incomes (though this pattern is not generally found in the population at large, cf. Hall, 1975: Ch. 5), differences between the self-employed and employed business fathers were next examined, by regression, with income and three other socio-economic variables controlled. Under these conditions, self-employment had no significant independent effect on closeness.

14. Seniors evaluated the importance of diverse criteria in choosing an occupation. Ten items were factor analyzed to ascertain whether they could be reduced to a smaller number of components. Three clearly interpretable factors emerged: interest in extrinsic rewards (income, security, prestige, and advancement), people-oriented rewards (helpful to others, work with people rather than things), and self-expression (of interests and abilities). For further information and the factor loadings, cf. Mortimer, 1975: 37-38. The freshman family variables were not significantly related to seniors' self-expression orientation, but this was not the case with respect to the senior measures of relations with parents (cf. Mortimer, 1975).

15. Because the SES variables are related both to the family and the occupational value measures, it is necessary to control the socio-economic indicators to assess the <u>independent</u> effects of family relations on sons' values (cf. Mortimer, 1975: 34-35).

16. The occupational prestige cut-off was 58 (below the median). Fathers in the higher prestige business category were managers, engineers and designers, accountants, and owners of fairly large-scale business enterprises. The lower prestige business group included owners and managers of small retail establishments, salesmen, and clerical workers.

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